/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The
285 carrying baskets (bonâ) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general,
• 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special
[824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

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532 276 [197] Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European ones.

534 178 [192] The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Cainguá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. -- [192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded, [535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious [533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 177 178 [439] At the present time many young people have already bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone. Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

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353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[792] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
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Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vusú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

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Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

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Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he began to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argentinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

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/230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

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776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

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Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

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793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

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V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] [535] [534] [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[634] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the 177 178 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ 574 576 [192] In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 796 533 778 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykey his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

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The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe reté moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe yeguaka moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, se curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ŝe rykeý."

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"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ŝe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ŝe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

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The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably forgotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called

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saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the foremost chief.

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The priests are clad with the badges of their office, the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside

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it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

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774 828 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial [776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called 775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to [776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváỹñemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of [192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." -- [776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of [828] Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celestial region called yrukútýtétã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.

782 796 ### 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The [533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of [534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djiroky), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

2: Schaden--167 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4
Kayová

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X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

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XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambaí.

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764 178 184 [171] [756] [534] Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day immediately after the death, it falling to the ñanderú to plant the cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 177 178 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Perúíbe and Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that these acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact [775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 [764] [178] In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they abandoned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 177 178 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

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The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechising. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

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The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá flanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká í) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The flanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

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1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

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As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

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/153 cont./
534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 322 824 The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

782 789 In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá ſ. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of 824 katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

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534 one is of yrukú ỹ (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
824 yvyrá rãmũ ʃ, with a string of pindó ryvʃ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embireko) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
533 sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ʃ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ʃ djáretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
176 given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
178 Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ʃ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
654 is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
533 miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
177 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
182 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'é*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[a] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarahá* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbarahá* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[a]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapá*. The *tapá*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[a] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[a] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbowáh*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapúi* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbowáh* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the tapuera grows. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Ñanderyke'y*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

[illegible]

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] [illegible]

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 26.

[79] Lizarella, "Dios Loco," apparently a missionary-fashioned concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic name for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be analogous to or from some Cayuá being of the same name singular and collective.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapiri*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85).

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases.

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaraká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance.

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *sakaki* (P), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men.

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with treadle machine and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusé* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain.

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cbuí* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cbuí* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cbuí* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor.

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, exact information is available. Firebase, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven cotton strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *takuapú* (stamping tubes of bamboo), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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at Taquapiri, although Cayuá elsewhere, particularly those of the lower Paraná region, are quite familiar with these musical instruments, perhaps dating from Jesuit times.

THE ANNUAL ECONOMIC CYCLE

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At the present time, the annual economic cycle for both men and women is almost completely adapted to the agricultural calendar. It is possible that the total male-female round of activity was not seasonal in the same way when men were responsible only for the cutting, burning, and clearing part of cultivation. This latter work has its season, of course, but we may well suppose that the rest of the year was not apportioned for the men in the same way as now.

The principal months of the growing season are October, November, December, January, and February, but the limits are not sharply defined. In 1943 several people had corn shoots up by September 17, although much of this was lost in an unexpected frost. This seasonal latitude is impressive to an ethnologist familiar with the crucial difference of a few days' or a week's growing time in some of the aboriginal agriculture of the United States. The Cayuá growing season is easily long enough for more than one planting in the same ground of several of the faster growing crops, including certain beans and even corn. Mishaps because of unseasonal frosts are rare with careful planning. But many Cayuá do not capitalize much upon the possibility of successive plantings, and probably none attempts it to the maximum. Because of a late or bad burning people are often late with their planting, and there is then not enough time left for growing a second crop in the same ground. Planting of slower crops like corn may start as early as the middle of August, and many Cayuá have beans, peanuts, and corn fairly well along by mid or late September. Potatoes, which are not as critical regarding the cold, may be planted as early as July. The agricultural potential, at least regarding the growing season, can thus be said to be more than adequate for Cayuá demands and ambitions at present.

August is in many ways as close as one can come to a general turning point for the beginning of the new agricultural year. From May to August are the months in which the Cayuá prefer to work in *okenga*; they usually feel that they cannot let things go much later. Some preparatory work on their own *kokwé* may be done in the meantime, however, even by the poorer, and those who do not work as pawns, of course, devote considerable time to their clearings during the months from May to August. Variation is quite marked from one individual to the next for the time of cutting and burning *kokwé* and for planting the various crops, and therefore, of course, for ripening and harvest. Some people may already have had corn up a whole month while others are still burning their *kokwé* preparatory to clearing. The different extent to which individuals engage in wage work for whites is one present cause of such individual differences of farming schedule.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century.

Today the *Caingud* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances.

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments.

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingud*. The *Pai*" and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingud*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments.

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingud* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire.

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingud* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingud* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest.

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (*kagüima*) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of cane-sugar (*Phyllanthus* sp.). Modern *Caingud* prepare *cauim*, which may be quite strong.